

Walpole (R.)

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A. N.

W. Knight

IMPARTIAL REVIEW
OF THE
OPPOSITION;
AND THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
LATE MINISTER
SINCE HIS
SECESSION.

1061.d.21
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WITH

AN ENQUIRY whether BRITAIN is
likely to be *better* for the *Change of the Mi-*
nistry, and in what Manner.

What are the Expectations of the People there-
from, and how far they have been *already*, or may
be *hereafter* answer'd.

The deplorable Situation of TRADE at present; a true
State of the NATIONAL DEBT, as attested from the
Exchequer, and some Remarks thereupon.

And whether, upon the Whole, LIBERTY or SLA-
VERY prevails most in the public Scale.

In a LETTER from a West-Country Clothier to his
Representative, one of the TWENTY-ONE.

L O N D O N:

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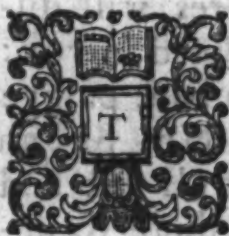




A N

IMPARTIAL REVIEW.

S I R,



H E high additional Honour
conferr'd on you, in Selecting
you from the rest of our Repre-
sentatives, to be one of the *cho-*
sen Few who are to enquire into
the Conduct and Miscarriages
of our Ministry for some Years past, induces
me, as one of your Constituents, to address
you on that joyful Occasion; and to lay be-
fore you, the Hardships we labour under, and
what Expectations of Redress we have form-
ed to ourselves from the Assistance of you,
and the rest of the Honourable Gentlemen of
the Committee, Expectations of rising to *Li-*
*ber*ty from the Brink of a dreadful Precipice
of *Slavery, Poverty, and Destruction*: You
have long heard our Complaints, and lately

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received

received our public general Instructions for your future Conduct, and the several Evils that call for an immediate Redress : But as some Things, of a more particular Nature, are only hinted therein, by Reason of the narrow Compass we were confin'd to, give me leave freely to expatiate thereon, and receive it as every Member, who loves his Country and Posterity, ought, from a Constituent who speaks the Sense of a Body of People, who have entrusted their Lives, Liberties and Properties with a Gentleman, whom, after the strictest Scrutiny, they have adopted for that Purpose: Think not it is an idle or trifling Task you have undertaken; that your not joining the *bad* will excuse you, or the barely not assenting to *wrong* Measures, will discharge the important Trust reposed in you: Do not imagine that we esteem bare passive Honesty as a Virtue sufficient: No, Sir, an active, industrious Prosecution of all just and laudable Means, that may contribute to unravel a long Concatenation of Iniquities, is what we demand at your Hands. The Welfare of Millions, yet unborn, depend on your steady Inflexibility, and vigorous Research after Truth; nor are you to stop there; that Truth once discover'd, as it is too evident we have been long and heavily oppress'd, tho' the proper Expedients and Proofs may be wanting to fix it immediately on the right Person. It is your Duty, and your Honour and Faith to Heaven and Mankind, are stak-
ed

ed to point the Accusation where 'tis justly due, and give an injur'd, bleeding Nation Vengeance on its Oppressor: Let not Titles varnish Guilt, Power intimidate you, or Affection stem the Current of your Inquiry. However dignified the Plunderer is, if you spare him, thro' Awe of his Superiority, 'twill brand your Name to late Posterity with Pusillanimity and Cowardice; if thro' a mistaken Tenderness to his Person, it will sink you to a State that will no longer intitle you to be called a *Man*, but herd with Brutes, and lick the Dust from off your Tyrant's Feet; who, in Return, ought to be, as he doubtless will, the first to kick you for your servile Fawning.

I don't question, Sir, that you will be very much surpris'd to see a Man at my Time of Day, and in my Circumstances, appear in Print; but, Sir, those very Circumstances are the Reason of it; the late Discouragement of Trade in General, and our Woollen Manufactures in particular, have suffer'd during the late Ministry, would, one would think, force even the Stocks and Stones of *Great Britain* to speak. I see the most flourishing Part of our Trade decay, the Staple Commodity, the very Vitals of *England*, flung into a galloping Consumption by our State Emprick, and shall not the Patient complain? When a Man has given me Poison, must I bow down and kiss his Hand, if he sneeringly offers to feel my Pulse? No, Sir, Loo-

fers will have Leave to speak; and that's the Case with me. Pardon then the abrupt Bluntness of my Stile; I speak more from my Heart than my Head; and that Heart, whose warm Affection for its Country inclined me to chuse you Member, ought only to complain to you, and tell you all its Fears and Doubts, its Wishes and Expectations. Besides, Sir, to deal ingenuously with you, I have another Motive, (which I hope will plead my Excuse for commencing Author, as it is very often the only Reason some of the Bretheren of the Quill can give) that is, in plain downright honest Truth, *I have nothing else to do.* My last Order from the Factors, like many of my Neighbours, was so triflingly small, and at the same Time back'd with Assurances, that even that very little one would not be repeated in a Hurry, that I was oblig'd, tho' with the utmost Regret, to discharge most of my unnecessary Workmen, some of whom I have constantly employ'd for above *Twenty Years* past; but, alas! those *Twenty Years*, unless speedy Remedies are applied, have prevented our having any Occasion for them for the future. I have nothing now to do but to smoke my Pipe, walk about and see my Looms and Materials decay daily, and my Tenter Grounds run to Ruin; or talk over our joint Misfortunes with some honest Neighbours in the same Situation, where we canvass the Validity of every Report, and lend an attentive Ear to
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the Proceedings of our Representatives and Superiors; and sometimes, indeed (tho' I hope we are never the worse Christians for it,) we can't help stealing out a Curse or Two on the Authors of our Miseries. And here I can't help thinking Sir R. W. has been a little mistaken in his Political Scheme of humbling the *Pride* of the *Nation*, by reducing the *honest Industrious*, and such as may be rank'd with those whom he was pleased to stile *Sturdy Beggars*; since, if he had not endeavour'd totally to destroy *Trade*, which it seems his *high* and *noble* Soul took a particular Pique against; I say, if he could but have been content to have left us a little Remnant of Business, just to have kept us employ'd, and free from Idleness, it might have prevented our Enquiry into many Misconducts which are now obvious to us. Then another Thing; he, by his *Proxies*, *Excisemen*, *Licensers of Hawkers &c. &c. &c.* was daily giving us the *Lye* by his *Gazetteers*, thrust into our Hands, telling us how rich, affluent and potent we were; when, at the same Time that we read, our uncloath'd Backs shiver'd with Cold, and our Minds with Horror at his Assurance; and our Stomachs, tho' growling with Hunger, could not feed on his *Chamæleon Diet*. Will a Man (whom half a Score Salivations have render'd so feeble that he can scarce cross his Chamber) thank his Companion for praising his hale, jolly Looks, his strong Sinews, and robust Body?

Body? Yet this has been the Case with the present E—— of Q——d, and the *British Constitution*: He, like some young Surgeons of the Town, first gave her the *Disease*, and then, after tampering a long time, and trying Experiments upon her, he has at last left her in such a languishing Condition, that if you and the rest of the *regular College* do not apply some extraordinary Specificks to her, she must e'en dye in the *Lock* at last.

You may, perhaps, Sir, think these Conceits too trivial and full of Levity for the melancholy Scene his *Rapine* and *Chicanery* have occasion'd (I chuse to give it those Terms, since in thinking him a *bad* Man, rather than a *weak* one, I pay a Complement to a Foible all Mankind are particularly fond of, who prefer the Disreputation of *Knavery* to *Folly*) I say, Sir, you'll imagine I am too ludicrous; but I hope you'll give some Allowances for our Spirits being elated at the Prospect they entertain of shortly having no more Occasion to be depress'd. You best know whether we have any substantial Ground for such Hopes: For, fluctuated as we are, between Expectancy and Resignation, we sometimes scarcely can describe our real Thoughts, or form any true Judgement of your Proceedings: One Post comes to us full of the most sanguine Hopes of *Liberty* and *Redress*; then the next is clouded with Doubts and Difficulties, filling us with fresh Consternation, and leaving us more in the Dark than before

before. The publick Papers, even the very *Gazette* (enlarged by Numbers of Bankrupts, occasion'd by the Decay of Trade, thro' his Mal-administration) brings an Account of the Creation of an E——l of O——d, with a long Harangue of Titles and Honours conferr'd. The poor Wretches who accompany Him on the other deplorable Account, seem *sunk* as *Piles* at your *new Bridge*, to erect the Base of his superficial Grandeur: This is the first we gather from the public Accounts, while our Letters from private Correspondents are as contradictory as can be, and give us not only a just Account, but a true Idea, of the Uncertainty the Publick is in on this important Conjunction.

Amidst this Cloud of Opinions and Diversity of Informations, what just Conclusions can we draw? Permit me, therefore, Sir, to lay before you the Facts as they appear to me, and my Apprehensions thereupon; you who are in the Heat of Action, may possibly slip some Things that may occur to me, and in others I may want Information, which I shall naturally apply to you for: And consider, Sir, although we have vested our Rights and Privileges in you, yet 'tis with this View, that from you we expect an Account and Protection thereof.

To begin then, Sir, I believe I may venture to say, that this Session of Parliament has been, and is likely to be, productive of as many remarkable Events as any *British* Parliament

liament these two hundred Years (when I say this, I wou'd not have any one rashly imagine, that I mean or give the least Hint at the Proceedings of *Oliver's* Mob, miscall'd a Parliament. In my Mind they cou'd be look'd upon as no such Assembly, or if by some Persons they are, I can by no means approve of their Measures. No, Sir, a Parliamentary Enquiry may search to the Bottom without striking Terror, unless to the Guilty, and may be *just* without *Cruelty* or *Bloodshed*.) We, at the Election of this Parliament, may be said to have lived at the Crisis which is universally agreed to be the last Cast for *English* Liberty; Heaven send we may husband it well! Tho' the Struggle between *Freedom*, and the servile Spirit of *Corruption*, was infamous, and what must needs fill the Breast of every Lover of his Country with the highest Indignation, yet now we have somewhat weather'd the Storm, and tho' not quite safe in Port, can look about us a little. It is no unpleasant Reflection to look back to what poor Subterfuges both the *Corruptor* and *Corrupted* were drove; how reluctantly they quitted the strong Holds they had clandestinely usurp'd, how the Hireling was, thro' the Dread of Shame, obliged to forego his long-gap'd-for *Bribe*, with the greatest inward Regret, yet outwardly with the visibly forc'd Affectation of a Triumph over Iniquity.

When

When I review the dreadful *Hydra* you had to encounter, I stand amaz'd at the Success you have already met with; but when I call to mind, that we steadily and in despite of Opposition, or the too prevailing Influence of Power, elected Patriots from whom we had long experienc'd the same Adherence to *Truth* and *Justice*, we could expect no less than you have already done, and in a firm Belief of your Perseverance, we promise ourselves much greater Benefits.

It would, methinks, almost drive a Man mad to consider this Nation about three or four and thirty Years ago, and at the Conclusion of the last tame, peaceable, and good-natur'd Parliament; good Heav'n! what a Difference! How *bright*, *fear'd* and *courted* was *Britain* at the first, and how *clouded*, *scorn'd* and *despis'd* at the last. I am a Friend and Admirer of the *Revolution*, Sir; and tho' I, from my Heart, abhor the odious Party Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* (which I began to think were entirely abolish'd, had they not been lately scandalously dragg'd into Light again, as I shall more fully observe presently) yet my Principles and Behaviour have been all along such, that the Generality of my Countrymen concluded me a *Whig*; that is, we like the present happy Establishment, and would rather live *easy*, *free* and *happy* under this present Government, than any other; but at the same time we would not willingly be made *Slaves*, *Beggars* or
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Wretches

Wretches by any. This then being premised, our Loyalty is out of Doubt; but if an *evil* and *designing* Minister shall abuse Royal Goodness and Lenity, must it be deem'd high Treason to complain? Shall the suffering Subject, who speaks his Wrongs, and accuses his Oppressor, be represented as an Insulter of the Throne, and an Enemy to regal Authority? Yet that this hath been the Case, Sir, you need not be inform'd, nor shall I here enter into a Detail of the grievous Hardships we have endured these Twenty Years past; they are too shocking to be repeated, and too well known, and too deeply imprinted in our Memories to need it; besides, it is foreign to my Purpose; which is chiefly to enquire what has been done, and what is expected to be done, since the *Banner of Liberty* is publickly rais'd, and a *Majority* of Patriots have gloriously wav'd it o'er the falling *Ensigns* of *Corruption*? But as it is necessary barely to hint in what a deplorable Condition you found us, give me leave to do it with a View to our before-mention'd contrasted State, in a Manner as concise as possible, by a Simile suitable to my own Occupation as a Trader.

Let us then compare *Britain* at the *Revolution* to a young *Merchant* coming into Business, on the small remaining Stock of his Ancestors; at first he behaves carefully and diligent, and all People seem fond to encourage a young Beginner; in his next Stage, by meeting with faithful Servants, he attains to his

his *Acme*, or Pitch ; his Credit is establish'd, both at Home and Abroad, and his *Counting House* commands most of the Exchanges in *Europe* : But from hence he grows too much elated with his Success, and, sure of its Continuance, resigns himself to *Ease* and *Indolence*, entrusting his most important Affairs only to those who flatter his Foibles and indulge him in his licentious Pleasures ; while he is supplied with Money for his Profusion, he cares for no more ; every thing else runs to *Ruin* ; his Tradesmen are unpaid, his Warehouses consequently not supply'd as they should be ; his Credit fails him Abroad ; his Draughts are return'd unpaid ; and his Bills protested ; and yet all the while the rascally Clerk, who occasion'd all this, is telling him, that he is the *wealthiest* and most *considerable* Merchant upon the *Exchange*, 'till he is declared a *Bankrupt* ; and then first finds out a Truth the World was acquainted with long before.

This, Sir, was the wretched Plight to which we were reduced : Our *grand Corruptor* has brought us all to the Brink of a Bankruptcy, when we laid our gasping Liberties at your Feet, and begg'd you to add *one* Struggle more to the *many* glorious ones you had made before ; you have answered our Wishes so far : With what Joy did we hear the Confirmation of his Honour's Resolution to *quit the House and trouble it no more* ? Your *Vigilance* and *Affiduity* are never to be enough com-
C 2 mended ;

mended; but Doubts and Fears will arise, and we have formerly had too many Proofs of the Instability of human Affairs, and the Irresolution of Men's Tempers, especially in Political Affairs, to be too credulous; Pardon me, Sir; I would not by this be thought to suggest the least Diffidence of you, or any of the *glorious Band*; I hope they are all *steady and unbiassed*, and when I hear any Insinuations to the contrary, I would willingly receive them as the last Efforts of a desponding *Sett of Hirelings*, calculated only to foment Jealousies amongst us. Tho' really, Sir, it is the Opinion of us simple, plain Country Folks, that unless something had been done more than has been, we might have abated something of those *extraordinary Rejoycings and Bonfires* which were made on the Occasion; tho' the least Appearance of Redress, after so long, so *infamous*, a Series of *Oppression and Corruption*, will, in a great Measure, allow for it; not but they may bear a double Construction, and the *Friends* of the *Great Man*, if he has any, may join in them on his being *exalted* to the highest Honours of a Subject; as the *Lovers* of their Country may, on his being removed from an Assembly, where he has lost his *Influence*, and can do no more *Mischief*: Tho', upon the Whole, I hope it will not prove like our Exultations for the taking of *Carthagena*, before the Work was a quarter completed.

Well!

Well! after a *long unsuccessful Feint*, upon feeling the Pulse of Some, tempting the Eyes of Others, and even bringing over *One or Two*, by loading their Pockets, the *Premier* finding all his Artifices fail, and seeing no Hopes of *coming up to every Man's Price*, as he hath often been pleased to phrase it; at length, in a sort of a Pet, told ye *he would visit ye no more*—and really, compassionately speaking, it was not a little hard for a *worthy Man*, who, for several Sessions before, had nothing more to do than to sit in his Study, draw up a B——ll, and (had he a Spaniel that could fetch and carry) send it to the H——se to be pass'd; I say, it must be very irksome to him to be brow-beat, and told of his Faults, even by a Parcel of *raw young Members*, whom he saw join the *Veterans*, and absolutely refuse to list in his Corps—Nay, Sir, you should have a little consider'd his Infirmities, and not have kept him debating 'till *Four or Five* in the Morning: But all *Bagatelle* apart, it was a *glorious Stand*, and, as such, all Mankind must esteem it: But what have been the Consequences? Why he quits *One House* to be introduced into the *Other*, with Honours suitable to the greatest Actions and Merits of the best of Subjects; this being the Effect of Fondness for an old Servant, is too tender a Point for me to touch upon, nor do I want to impeach the ***** *Favourite*, but the *Nation's Foe*; if he is *Innocent*, where lies the Guilt? if he is *Guilty*, why is he *Honour'd*?

our'd? But to proceed, he resigns his accumulated Posts and Places, a *Fortnight's Adjournalment* was thought necessary to dispose of them, every Body *dreaded* the Effects of that *Fortnight*; but, to the *immortal Honour* of his *Opposers* be it said, they withstood *all Temptations*, and the most sanguine *Countryman* could not wish to see a more equal, or honest, Distribution of those Trusts, which had been before reposed in *him alone*; and as they were too powerful for any *one Subject*, were divided amongst those who were only capable of *deserving* them; thus, for a *few Days*, we saw every thing gliding on with a smooth Current, and the Rudder of the State committed to the Hands of the most able Pilots. It does not come within the Compass or Design of a Letter, to make Panegyrics on particular Persons; let it suffice that the Nation was very well pleased with the whole; but in the midst of our Rejoycings, and before the News could even have reached some of the remote Parts of the Kingdom, it was follow'd by an Alarm, that our *Great Enemy*, tho' he was withdrawn from *publick Influence* and *Power*, yet still preserved as *great* a Power as *ever* in *Private*; that a *Nobleman*, who had all along distinguished himself by an extraordinary Zeal in forwarding the *great Work*, was no sooner reinstated in the Posts which best became him, then, upon some private Disgust, he surrender'd them again. The Conduct of this Gentleman, at that *particular Crisis*,

Crisis, fill'd us with the *utmost Dread and Confusion*. If, said We, he accepted those Posts with a firm Belief that the *Day of our Redemption* was at Hand, it must be upon a full Conviction that it was not so, which occasion'd his Resignation; what then can we expect, but that the same malevolent Star, which has all along determin'd our Destinies, still continues its deadly Influence? He found the Struggle was vain, and therefore declin'd it; but, on the other Hand, what could we conceive of the others, who still continued their laudable Endeavours? Could we conceive that Men, who, in all Shapes, had so vigorously oppos'd *Corruption and undue Influence*, would, all at once, join to espouse it; no, common Reason denied it at all Events; this, therefore, was all we could conclude, if, thro' private Pique or Resentment, that Nobleman withdrew his Assistance, when it was wanting to compleat the glorious Plan, he forfeited the Character of *Patriot* at that very Time when he should have supported it most. However, this Consternation ceased upon seeing the same vigorous Measures pursu'd; the Progress of the Place-Bill quieted the Fears of the *Farmers and Land-holders*, as the great Attention given to the Petition of the *Merchants of London*, in Behalf of the Trade, gave Hopes to us who are more nearly concern'd in manufacturing our Wooll, and consequently in Commerce in general; if we had any remaining Doubts and Scruples, the Order
for

for a Committee of Enquiry, hath entirely silenced them for the present; and now we have nothing to do, but to tell you our Expectations therefrom, and send our most ardent Prayers and Wishes for your Success to accompany you.

This, Sir, I take to be the *impartial* State of the Case on the Side of the *Country*. The Domestic Breaches of the *Royal Family* are healed by this happy Conjunction, and every *Englishman* wisheth nothing but the Interest of his King and Country united. Let us now turn our View to the Conduct of the *Corruptor*, since this memorable *Æra*, and examine his *partial Pleas* in Favour of himself and his Transactions.

It certainly must very much flatter and elevate the Spirits of an *Ambitious Man*, when he perceives, that he is of great Consequence in the World: It is owing to this *wrong* Notion of *Fame*, and the vain delusive Hopes of being talked of after they are dead, that so many poor Wretches have ventured their Necks to have their Names (as *Shakespear* expresses it) *wrapt in Vulgar Breath*: The Man who set fire to the *Temple of Ephesus*, openly declared, that he did it with this View: (tho', by the way, as the Accounts of those Times are very much blended with Fable and Fiction, I am inclined to take this in a mythologic Sense, and therefore look upon the Story of *Erostratus* as figuratively displaying a *wicked Minister*, who had nothing to make him

him remember'd by Posterity, but ending his Rapine in a *Sacrilegious Blaze* : But the *Ephesians* were not altogether so good natur'd as the *English*, for we do not read that he was either allow'd a Pension, or had any extraordinary Honours confer'd on him for his Villany.

You will, perhaps, Sir, ask what is all this to the Purpose? what have we to do with *Ephesus*? Why really, Sir, in my poor Opinion, the Man who hath aggrieved a Nation for a considerable Time, and who finding they can no longer brook his Insults, resigns his Power; and then, because he is apprehensive a Scrutiny may be made into his Actions, endeavours to revive obsolete Fewds, and stir up intestine Commotions, that in the Up-roar he may escape with Impunity, must be look'd upon as an *Incendiary*: And he that will foment Differences, and stir up the Coals of Sedition in *St. S——n's Chappel*, ought to be deem'd as guilty and infamous as the Wretch who fir'd *Diana's Temple*. These Reflections naturally occur'd to me, upon a Review of the *Corruptor's* Behaviour since his *Secession*. He resigns all his Posts, 'tis true, and those Posts are bestowed on Gentlemen who, by the general Voice, are allowed to be entire Enemies to *Dependancy* or *Corruption*, and consequently to his *Administration*. It puzzles one, at first, to think that a Person who was so remarkable for low Cunning and Chicane, should give

up his Power into the Hands of his Enemies; but the Amazement vanishes, when we find, that he rests his Hopes on the partial Indulgence, and obstinate Fondness of a certain Person, whom he hath been artful enough to conceal his Faults from all along. 'Tis there we are to seek him, like the Devil at the Ear of *Eve* secretly whispering his pernicious Dictates, whilst all the Nation thinks him at a Distance off. 'Tis there we are very justly to imagine he is destroying all Vouchers and Proofs of his Guilt, in order to prevent or retard the Means of an *honest Enquiry*. And here, tho' I think the Country has Reason to be sorry for the Loss of so staunch a Friend as the D—— of A——, yet I can't help vindicating his Resignation, since, what Man of Spirit can bear that his generous and honest Sentiments, should be canvass'd or condemn'd by a sneaking Trickster behind a Screen?

But to proceed——After he had, as we may reasonably suppose, endeavour'd to wrest a *Promise of Favour*, in case Things should come to the Extremity he expected from an *injured* and a *plunder'd People*, it was given out, that he was retired to his *Country Palace* to pass his Time in a calm Retirement; but we were mistaken, Sir, he was otherways employ'd, he thought it absolutely necessary for him, that the steady Union of the Patriots should be destroy'd; their firm Conjunction in their Country's Cause he very well knew could

could bode him no Good; an Attempt therefore must be made at least to stir up Doubts between them; his *Gazetteer* Host had done trumpeting, and therefore he sounds to Battle himself; a specious Harangue comes out under the Title of a *Letter from a By-Stander to a Member of Parliament*; which, if 'tis not immediately his own, yet the Arguments and Stile are so much in his way, that it is evident it was done by *his Order*, and under his Inspection. Tho' I don't intend a formal Answer to this doughty Piece, yet as it is the only one that has appear'd in his Behalf, I would endeavour, by some short Animadversions thereon, to set aside the Artful Insinuations therein contained, and, by giving a just Analysis thereof, to shew its manifest *evil Tendency* at this Conjunction.

Whoever takes the most cursory View of the *By-Stander*, may plainly perceive that his Design is not only to vindicate his own Conduct, but to *soften* an Enquiry, if he cannot *prevent* it; for this Purpose he makes his Attack on the different States of the Nation, and by alarming them with far-fetch'd Ills and fancied Dangers, he would divert their Thoughts from their proper Objects of Vengeance and a Retaliation for Mal-administration. The common People, the trading and monied Interest are directed to tremble at the Thoughts of *Foreign Invasions* and the *Fall of Stocks*: Both which he would have you imagine have been prevented by a numerous

standing Army, so that consequently all Complaints on that Head are groundless. After thus endeavouring to prepossess the Commonalty in his Favour, he makes his Court to the *Crown* by the usual Method of Court Sycophants, that is, striving to make it jealous of the People's increasing Power, and its own Weakness, besides playing off his favourite Firework of a Pretender; he goes a step further, and even tells them, that *Monarchy* is subsiding, and *Democracy* greatly prevailing: But as this will not answer his Purpose alone, his last grand Effort is to rouse the dreadful sleeping Monster of *Party*, and sow Dissention amongst those who are to enquire into his Conduct. The odious Appellations of *Whig* and *Tory* have been long banish'd, but it is his Interest to revive them; and if, by that Means, he can divide his Judges, he may greatly embarrass that Unity and Moderation which is so necessary in bringing Criminals to Justice, and searching out the Recesses of disguis'd Truth. This seems to be the main Drift of his Design, and after raking up an Account of Oppressions, in Reigns long since past, which he places, *right* or *wrong*, to the Account of the *Tories*, he immediately owns himself a *Whig*, and makes it a Party Cause with them to screen Him. This Analysis is so obvious and plain, that it is needless to enlarge upon it; but his Reasonings to support it are in several Places

very

very odd and particular; they will require some cursory Remarks.

In the first Place, therefore, after bringing it as a *great Plea for keeping up a large standing Army*, that our modern royal *Nymrods* are most of them grown *Hunters of Men* instead of *Beasts*, and more anxious in enlarging their *Pack of Military Blood-hounds*, than a harmless Kennel of Dogs; he brings it Home to *England*, and insists, that if they keep Armies on Foot to *fight*, it is equally necessary that we should keep them to be *review'd*; for, says he, *France* may invade us; *Spain* may join them; nay and *Sweden* too; the *Dutch* may stand still affrighted, and then down with poor *England* at once; your *great Fleet's* of little or no Service, your *standing Army* alone prevents this Design: And then he points out the particular Places, where this Invasion is to be made from, so plain, that no *Engliskman* is bound to him for the Favour, which is only evidently calculated to intimidate us, and which shews his usual Good-nature in assisting the *French* Schemes, at the Expence of the *Honour* of his own Nation: But, with all due Submission to this Gentleman's Understanding, I can't think our *Land Forces* so preferable to our *Navy*: For if it be so easy for *France* to land a *First* Embarkation here, consequently they might a *Second, Third &c.* and were it once to come to that, our standing Military Force of 17,704 Men (which he allows it at) *great and oppressive*

oppressive as it is to us, would be but a *small* Defence against 200,000 Men; which, by his Account, *France* might employ here, and keep above 100,000 at home. But our Happiness is, our *floating Castles* are not such *Cockboats* as he would make of them.

Next, Sir, as to *Reports* affecting our Stocks, I agree with him, that *false* ones oftentimes do it as much as *true* ones. No one will dispute this with *him*, who hath had so much Experience therein: I likewise own, that *publick Credit* is the *Pulse* of the Nation; a remarkable Instance of which we had in *his Honour's* withdrawing from the *Publick Service*, the *French* Actions fell upon the very first *Bruit* thereof, whilst our own kept the same even Temper without any Alteration, unless the Emperor's Loan, which before bore *no* Price, and now bears a *little*. As to his other Insinuations in Behalf of a *standing Army*, they have been the Topic of many Debates, and have been so fully exploded by Gentlemen who have opposed them in the *Grand Assembly* of the Nation, that it would be both needless and presumptuous in me to undertake a fresh Confutation of them here.

Well! but if this fails, implies he, I have another Recourse, that is, the old standing Dispute between *the Crown* and the *People*, alike jealous of each other's Increasing Power: I shall get but little by throwing myself into the Arms of the People, therefore at all Events, I must aver, that they are
growing

growing *Arbitrary*, and the Regal Interest decreasing; in short, that unless I am suffer'd to go Scot-free with my Plunder, it is an Insult upon his M——ty, whose Sovereign Authority is in Danger; and if I can perswade *some Folks* to screen me, and the People should take it into their Heads to resent it, and call me to an Account, it is a *Democracy*; and whoever requires Justice of me, is an Enemy to Monarchy. This is the plain *English* of his Argument; and to corroborate this, by an ingenious Piece of Sophistry, he makes all *Liberty* to consist in *Superfluity* and *Licentiousness*; and all *Prerogative* in the *absolute Power* and *despotic Will* of the Prince: In short, he here openly avows the Principle which hath all along actuated his base Measures, and shews the simple Foundation of his Political Structure; his Sentiments, however dress'd and disguis'd, when stript of their glossy Covering, appear plainly thus; While the Cottagers are kept poor, and upon a bare, hungry Subsistence, they will have neither *Time* nor *Abilities* to redress themselves, if some of the poor Dogs are obstinately inclined so to do; the *Lord of the Manor* may oppress Some, and bribe Others, (nay such a benevolent Love doth he bear to Mankind, that he doth not except any, but throwing aside in Others, as he hath done in himself, all innate Honesty and Virtue, he very kindly supposes they would all be bribed) but, saith he, as they increase in Wealth, notwithstanding

ing the Income of the Lord is augmented with theirs, they grow headstrong and unruly, the *Cottager* of 100 *l. per Annum* will struggle for his Liberties, which the *poor one* of 10 *l. per Annum* must yield up without repining; and then he lays down several Degrees, in which, as they increase in Substance, the Lord decreases proportionately in Power; yet notwithstanding the Rules here laid down, and allowing the Nation to be increasing in *Superfluities*, as he styles it, we have seen this very Man reverse the Doctrine he here advances, and grasp uninterrupted Power from the People for Twenty Years past. Upon the Whole, we can't help admiring his profound Skill in Figures, and I am less surprized that one of this way of thinking, should lay down such a shocking Proposition as I am informed he once did, *viz. That every Man is to be bought, and the only Difficulty is to find out his Price.*

From this, with a full Sail of *seeming* Triumph, he drives into a Sea of his own Praises and his Administration, by pointing out the extravagant giving Temper of former Parliaments to *Charles II. &c.* who were *all Tories*, all profuse of the public Money, only for this very Reason, because he is a *Whig*. He furnishes us with several Estimates, the Veracity of which, I will not take upon me to dispute; but I believe, could some Estimates be procured of the Gifts and Imposts of some later Reigns, we should

A STATE of the NATIONAL DEBT, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood on the 31st of *December* 1740, and on the 31st of *December* 1741, together with an Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in that Year, and the Payment of what Debts contracted before the 25th Day of *December* 1716, the said Fund has been applied.

EXCHEQUER.

	Amount of the National Debt on the 31st of <i>December</i> , 1740.	Increased between the 31st of <i>Dec.</i> 1740, and 31st of <i>Dec.</i> 1741.	Paid off with- in that Time.	Amount of the Debt on the 31st of <i>December</i> , 1741.
	£. s. d.	£.	£.	£. s. d.
Annuities for long Terms, being the remainder of the original Sum, contributed and unsub- scribed to the <i>South Sea Company</i> ,	1836275 17 10 $\frac{3}{4}$			1836275 17 10
Annuities for Lives, with the Benefit of Sur- vivor spending, being the original Sum contributed,	108100			108100
Annuities for Two or Three Lives, being the Sum remaining after what is fallen in by Deaths,	109447 8 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		800	108647 8 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Annuities at Nine per Cent. for short Terms,	161108 6 8			161108 6 8
Annuities on the Lottery, <i>Anno</i> 1710, for Ditto.	109290			109290
Annuities on the Plate Act 6th <i>George</i> I. Regis.	312000			312000
Annuities for <i>Nevis</i> and <i>St. Christophers</i> Deben- tures at Three per Cent. per Annum,	37821 5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$			37321 5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Annuities at Three and a Half per Cent. <i>Anno</i> 1731.	400000			400000
Annuities at Three per Cent. <i>Anno</i> 1736, charg'd on the Sinking Fund,	600000			600000
Annuities at Three per Cent. <i>Anno</i> 1738, charg- ed on Ditto.	300000			300000
Duties on Salt continued, <i>Anno</i> 1734.	84500		84500	
Ditto further continued, <i>Anno</i> 1735.	500000		102500	397500
Ditto further continued, <i>Anno</i> 1741.	700000	1200000		1200000
Exchequer Bills made out for Interest of old Bills exchanged,	2200			2200
Exchequer Bills on the Victuallers Act, <i>Anno</i> 1726,	481400			481400
Exchequer Bills charged on the Duties on Sweets, <i>Anno</i> 1737,	499600			499600
N. B. The Land Taxes, and the Duties on Salt, being Annual Grants, are not charged in this Account, nor the 1000000 <i>l.</i> charged on the Deduction of Six per Cent. paid on Pension, &c.				
East India Company.				
By Two Acts of Parliament 9th <i>William</i> III. Regis, and Two other Acts 6th and 9th <i>Anna</i> Reginae.	3200000			3200000
Bank of England.				
On their original Fund at Six per Cent. per Annum.	1600000			1600000
By cancelling Exchequer Bills, 3d <i>George</i> I. Regis,	500000			500000
Purchased of the <i>South Sea Company</i> ,	4000000			4000000
Annuities at Four per Cent. charged on the Du- ties on Coals, &c. since <i>Lady-day</i> 1739,	1750000			1750000
Annuities charged on the Surplus of the Funds for Lottery 1714,	1250000			1250000
Ditto at Three per Cent. for the Lottery <i>Anno</i> 1731,	800000			800000
South Sea Company.				
On their Capital Stock and Annuities, 9th <i>Geo.</i> I. Regis,	27302203 5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$			27302203 5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	53643946 3 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1200000	187800	46983646 3 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

should not find them at all short of what this Gentleman hath produced; he best knows whether they are so or not, only one Thing I remark, that he is enabled better to find out where the Crown converted the public Money to its own Use, than we can possibly be, upon the Account of that *new-invented*, cursed Article of *f—t S—ce* Money.

After thus paying a Complement to his own Management, at the Expence of all Others of the same kind, ever since the Restoration; and averring upon his bare *ipse Dixit*, that our Tendency at present, unless it be rightly moderated, lies much stronger to *Democracy* than *absolute Monarchy*; which, by the above-mentioned Estimates, he would convince us; I hope it will not be amiss, as I cannot answer him properly in regard to the present Revenues, to put him in mind of a Favourite Argument which he has often made use of; that is, that the Crown, besides it's natural Power, receives an additional one from the *vast Debt* it contracts with the Subjects, who must support that Establishment, if they ever hope to be paid; this, however wild and chimerical it may seem, hath often been made use of by that Gentleman, as a cogent Argument for postponing the Payment of any Part of the National Debt. This, then, if we argue in his Manner, is such an Increase of *Ability* to the Crown, as no Monarch ever enjoy'd before; and the free handling of a Fund de-

signed, tho' seldom made use of for that Purpose, is a Benefit which no rapacious Minister, besides himself, was ever possessed of. I have here annexed an authentic and attested Account thereof, that may be seen by comparing it with any one of former Years, how much it hath been accumulated during his Administration; in all which Time, 'till very lately, we have had a profound Peace; but as this, Sir, will fall under your Enquiry, I hope no Pains will be spared to unravel the Mystery. Only one thing I must beg leave to observe, that credible Report informs us, at the Time the *Secession* was made, the *E———r* was stript quite bare, and by this Account there was upwards of 160,000 *l.* in it about a Month before,——a great deal of Money for one Month's Expences,——but this is above my Sphere, I therefore leave it to the proper Examiners.

I come now to the Result of this Insinuating By-stander, which is as much as to say, all the Evils that were ever done to this Nation, were done by *Tories*; and, Gentlemen, I would not let you have the Spirit of *Party* die; there are *Tories* amongst ye——all are *Tories* who complain of the late Administration; tho' they don't so much as use the word *Whig* Profusion, or *Whig* Misapplication, yet if they find fault with Corruption, or the *E———* of *O———d*, they are *Tories*, downright *rank Tories*, if they impeach him, they are entire *Enemies* to *Liberty*—But this
he

he is not afraid of, the *Whigs* are step'd into the Breach, their *Excellent Temper* and *Manly Contempt* of dishonest Suggestions and Calumnies, has, in this Day, preserved us—'tis on them *only* that the Nation relies for a *strict* and *honest* Enquiry—and they will undoubtedly make it with a *strict* Regard to the *public Good*, and a *reasonable Candour* to the Person accused. This seems to imply a *Secret*, which we ought of all Things to dread, as if he was secure of a Triumph, from some of the Principals in the Opposition declining the Pursuit of Justice, and the late Conduct of a certain Honourable Gentleman in regard to *Septennial Parliaments*, seems to confirm our most horrid Conjectures: If so, we need not be at a loss to know that we are still destin'd to *Slavery*, otherwise it is either begging a *Party* in your Enquirers, or seeming as if he were assured of some *secret* Friends there; for he makes no doubt, but he shall be judged with *reasonable Candour*; but what he may think so, perhaps the Nation may not. This, Sir, has given us an Alarm, and to a People injured as we have been, the least Apprehensions of subsiding in the *glorious Struggle* you have began, affects us in the *most sensible* Part: 'Tis therefore to quicken you in the arduous Task that I at present Address you: Ye are now the sole Guardians of our Liberties and Properties; the least Neglect may give Room to a sudden Surprise, and destroy the Great Design in it's Growth; be vigilant,

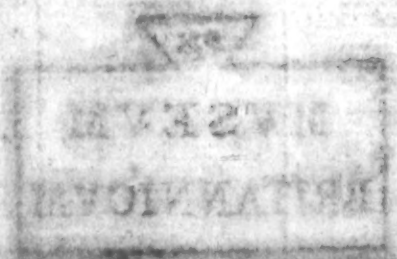
therefore, be cool and temperate, consider the Person you have to deal with. He hath for a long *Series of Years* been used to *Shifting* and *Evasion*; urge home then every Point, pursue him thro' all his *Doubles*, never leave him 'till *fairly acquitted* or *justly condemn'd*; the Nation demands it of you; satisfy then their Expectations; let not false Rumours Spirit up Dissention amongst ye, *Union* and *Equanimity* must be the Guide of your Enquiry, as *Resolution* and *Inflexibility* are the main Springs. Remember that, tho' he should come to his Trial under the Sanction of a Screen, 'tis your Business to discover ill Conduct, and lay it open to the World; if you connive at any Part thereof, you become Partakers of his Crimes, and are equally culpable with him; when Power is wrongly applied to protect the Guilty, *Passive Obedience* is *high Treason* to your Country: Atrocious Crimes can have no Plea for Mercy, and mistaken Clemency is the greatest Offence ye can be guilty of. The Jury that saves a Robber, after a plain Conviction, not only releases him by taking his Villanies upon themselves, but encrease the Weight of Sin by an additional Perjury to God, and Falsehood to Man: You, Sir, are One of our National Jury; this the last Stake for *British Liberty*; the only Method that can revive and confirm our ancient Constitution, or leave on us the indelible Trace of *Slavery* for ever; let not, therefore, Authority awe ye, partial

Com-

Commiseration weaken your noble Resolves, or civil Feuds embarrass the Public Good. In short, be *steady*, be *honest*, and *Fraud* and *Corruption* shall sink before ye, however highly protected or defended.

We have been told, upon this lucky Change, by the Writers who have been most strenuous in opposing the pernicious Schemes of this *great bad Man*, that the *Augcan* Stable was not cleansed in a Day; tho' it was one of the Labours of *Hercules*, he was but one, but as we are blest with a Number, each of which we esteem upon this Occasion equal in Virtue to the ancient *Hercules*, 'tis reasonable to hope, by their joint Labours, the Task may be compleated in less than *thirty Years*, tho' I must own it must be a large *Alphean* Torrent that can entirely wash away our Filth, which, if ye effect, notwithstanding ye meet the same *Princely* Reward of *Ingratitude*, as that Hero did from *one* Party, yet the *Hearts* of a relieved *People* will build ye *Monuments* of *grateful Praise* to late *Posterity*.

I am, Sir, &c.



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And Printed for T. Cooper in *Pater-Nostre Row,*

THE Grand Removal, inscribed to his
Grace *John Duke of Argyle*, in Com-
memoration of the late *Glorious Struggle* for
Liberty, and the worthy Patriots Defenders
thereof: And to the Infamy of the Plunder-
ers of their Country, and Prostitutes of the
M—r. Concluding with an Address to his
Grace not to desert us at this Crisis, but per-
severe in the Great Cause of Liberty.

To Wants at Home, and more than Wants, Abuses ;
To them that when the Enemy invaded,
Made us the Saints, but next the Sores of Rome ;
To filken Flattery, and Pride plain'd over,
Forgetting with what Winds their Fathers sail'd ;
To this I am a Foe,
Not to the State, on any Point of DUTY. Recd. Val.
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to the Year 1710. In a Letter from herself
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Proper to be bound up therewith.

Two Trumpets *she does sound* at once,
But both of clean contrary Tones ;
But whether Both with the same Wind,
Or One before and One behind,
We know not ; only this can tell,
The One sounds Vilely, th' Other Well. Butler.
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6

